NATIONAL
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Take a good hard look, Ike
The world, as Sean O'Casey once said, is in a "state of chassis"

A GUARDIAN EXCLUSIVE

'Barbarism' at Port Said fails to break its spirit

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

CAIRO, Nov. 19

EVIDENCE HAS BEEN accumulating of a deliberate Anglo-French policy to force submission of the remaining civilians in Port Said by starvation and thirst. This city normally lives on canal commerce and on supplies brought in by boat. There is no cultivated land and no cattle. The people of Port Said have been without food supplies since the invasion and the British bar food trains flying the Red Crescent under the flag of the International Red Cross.

For ten days Port Said was helpless while the Red Crescent (Egyptian Red Cross) tried vainly to obtain permission to enter. The British then said that supplies could be brought in, but no men. A train from Ismailia staffed with women was again refused entry. A Red Crescent cable to International Red Cross headquarters at Geneva brought no reply.

NURSES BARRED: An International Red Cross delegate here then went to Ismailia to take a train under its flag but was refused after 12 hours of negotiation. The British permitted medical supplies to enter but barred nurses. It is reported here that the British also refused entry to an Italian medical ship.

Two reliable persons who spent 24 and 48 hours respectively in Port Said last week and talked with many people said that the British, who occupy the waterworks, dole out water to the Egyptians intermittently, usually for only one hour a day. The British forces are supplied with water from Malta, as correspondents from here who recently tried to enter Port Said discovered.

The destruction of the Arab quarters and occupation by Anglo-French forces of the schools, government buildings and hospitals, have made thousands homeless with no place to sleep during the very cold nights. The British forbid exit and frequently shoot and kill those trying to escape by boat at night. One woman was thus killed on Lake Manzala before the eyes of foreign correspondents who were also being shot at. A Port Said nurse said to my informant: "If only they would let the women and children go!"

(Continued on Page 8)

ASIANS CRITICAL ON HUNGARY

Tito warns Soviet of new revolts if rigidity holds

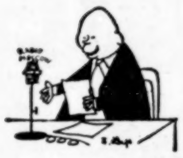
By Kumar Goshal

THE CONTINUING CONFLICT in Hungary resulted last week in sharper criticism of Soviet involvement in Hungarian affairs, both in the UN and the world at large. Many of the neutral powers adopted the position that the situation warranted an impartial inquiry.

At the UN Cuba offered a resolution condemning the reported mass deportation of Hungarians to the Soviet Union and demanding their immediate return home. The resolution originally accused Moscow of the crime of genocide, but was modified in deference to the fact that the U. S. has never signed the pact against genocide. The Soviet and Hungarian delegates flatly denied the charges, attributed much of the trouble in Hungary to Radio Free Europe and Voice of America propaganda.

Inside This Issue

THE AMERICAN LEFT
By Dalton Trumbo . . . . p. 10
BRITISH HANGOVER
By Cedric Belfrage . . . . p. 3
ISRAEL: WHAT NEXT?
By Ursula Wassermann p. 3
PUERTO RICO PASSION
By Elmer Bendiner . . . . p. 4
NEGRO VOTE SWITCH
By Eugene Gordon p. 12



Canard Enchaine, Paris
"Workers of the world be quiet . . ."

As a substitute for the Cuban resolution, India, Ceylon and Indonesia on Nov. 19 offered a resolution urging Hungary to let UN observers in "without prejudice to its sovereignty."

NEHRU SHARPER: In New Delhi, Indian Prime Minister Nehru on Nov. 19 strongly criticized the continued presence of Soviet troops in Hungary and asked for their prompt withdrawal. Observing that Hungarian workers were still carrying on their passive resistance, despite an understanding reached between the Budapest Central Workers Council and the Kadar government, Nehru was convinced that "the Soviet army is there against the wishes of the Hungarian people." Even before Nehru spoke, there had been critical repercussions abroad to the Hungarian situation in Asia.

In a joint communique issued at New Delhi on Nov. 15, the Prime Ministers of India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia declared that "Soviet forces should be withdrawn from Hungary speedily and that the Hungarian people should be left free to decide their own future."

The Asian Prime Ministers said they have "watched with interest and appreciation" the progress of democratization in E. Europe that would "result in stable

(Continued on Page 9)

DESTALINIZATION AND HUNGARY TAKE EFFECT

Communist parties in turmoil

By Lawrence Emery

INNER TURMOIL was the condition of Communist parties in many parts of the world last week as members, still shocked by the debunking of Stalin, reacted to the events in Hungary. In some places it seemed certain that the old style CP, modeled after the Russian, would be replaced by new forms, new methods and new approaches. In any case, the extreme left in most Western countries would never be quite the same.

Taking advantage of the internal dissensious, old-line anti-Soviet groups and organizations were inspired to excessive activity by the Hungarian episode and in some places took to violence against CP personnel and property.

BRITAIN—RESIGNATIONS: The British CP, credited with 30,000 members, was hard hit. A number of its influential leaders resigned, and some went so far as to call for the party's dissolution. On Nov. 13 John Horner, genl. secy. of the Fire Brigades Union, revealed at a mass meeting at Newcastle that he had quit the party on Nov. 4. An unconfirmed report the next day said that all nine of the remaining Communists on the FBU executive had also quit.

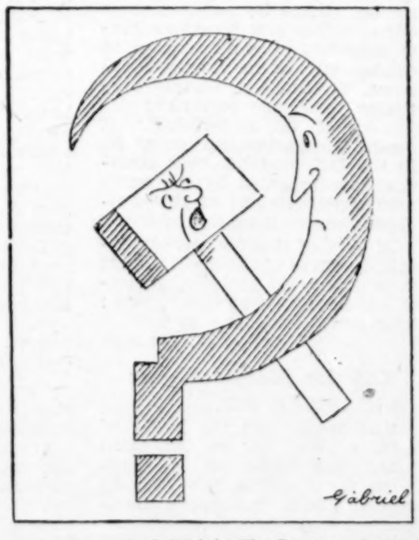
Alec Moffat, regional director of the Scottish Mineworkers Union in the Lothian district, and Leslie Cannon, educational director of the Electrical Trades Union, also resigned. Cannon, together with Jack Grahl and Leo Keely of the FBU, urged the dissolution of the CP in a statement submitted to the party leadership. They added:

"We feel that the only means of achieving unity among the people who want socialism in Britain is through the Labour Party. We shall continue to fight for socialism and to end the power of colonialism, which we consider the greatest cause of misery to mankind, and to end the constant economic crises and threats of war."

A CORRESPONDENT QUITS: Edward Thompson, lecturer at Leeds University, and John Saville of Hull University, announced their resignation on Nov. 14. They had previously earned official CP disfavor by publishing an unofficial party discussion journal, **The Reasoner.** They said they could not "keep silent while the official organ for the communists attempted to justify the Soviet action" in Hungary. The Oxford University CP branch dissolved itself, and the Ashington, Northumberland, branch sent a petition of protest on Hungary to the Soviet legation in London.

The resignation of the London **Daily Worker's** cartoonist Gabriel was followed on Nov. 16 by that of Peter Fryer, former

(Continued on Page 8)



Gabriel in The Reasoner, London
"And furthermore I don't know why you take up this position regarding Democratic Centralism."

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THE MAIL BAG

Time for re-orientation

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The overwhelming repudiation of the Democratic national leadership at the Nov. 6 election on the issue of foreign policy may well prove the beginning of a revolutionary shift in American politics.

For this fact Adlai Stevenson should be given full credit. His bold and unashamed glorification of the roles of British and French imperialism and his desperate attempt to discredit the tentative efforts of the UN to achieve world order, as well as the part the Eisenhower Administration (for whatever reasons) played in these efforts, told the story clearly and convincingly. When a Presidential candidate is so irresponsible as to attack a Nixon FROM THE RIGHT (as did Stevenson in the campaign's closing hours) he forfeits the last vestige of obligation for support from conscientious progressives anywhere. Down the drain of history goes the Democratic Party as a potential rallying ground for the peace-loving democratic forces of the U.S.

It must be emphasized that this means no joint enterprise in imperialist floundering with the Eisenhower Administration. The necessity of an independent political organization, with a program for lasting world order as well as social advance for the nation, should be apparent now or never. The new American party must be free to act wisely and courageously on the international scene. This means, at this particular hour, the forthright rejection of oil imperialism: it means the nationalization of oil in the U.S. and in other countries, accompanied by the quick internationalization of this precious resource through the UN.

In view of this fact speedy reorientation of the entire U.S. Left is essential. No progressive anywhere should be caught lisping: "Socialism is not the issue."

Reuben W. Borough

Call for Gideon's Army

LAKE GROVE, N.Y.

The people lost the battle of Nov. 6. Without an organized army they could not but lose. Even their determined fighters rushed about the battle fields without aim, without weapons.

Well, this is now water over the dam. Not the past but the future will tell. So, preparations for the future must be the order of the day—this day, not some day in the distant future.

Since the supporters of the GUARDIAN constitute a valuable organization, please make that organization the point for the required Archimedean effort to lift our particular world out of the quagmire of capitalist party sham battle but really concerted action against the common people.

Organize—or at least inspire—local get-togethers of a few reliables everywhere, to set the ball rolling towards a people's party—toward a socialist America.

Max Bedacht

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The [Nobel Peace Prize] committee, meeting today, had before it a list of nominees. It is known that it included . . . Sir Anthony Eden . . .

Manchester Guardian, Nov. 8.

[As the Queen drove to the opening of Parliament] "The Triumphal Entry of the Egyptian Army" from "Aida" [was] played by the band in Whitehall.

Manchester Guardian, Nov. 7.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: C. B., London. Be sure to include original clipping (and date) of each entry.

Urges re-examination

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Your cynical attitude toward Stevenson's proposed bomb test ban was shocking to many of your friends and a disservice to your readers. For the first time in 11 years an American leader proposed that we not merely react to Soviet policy but that we take initiative and responsibility in beginning to eliminate something that has created terror in most of the world since Hiroshima. For 11 years groups of scientists and a few left-wingers have tried to make the public aware of what can happen if we continue our present atomic policy, with scarcely any results. Stevenson's statement put the President and the AEC on the defensive; it rejected Truman's policies. It awakened the American people—and it should certainly make you re-examine your attitudes. **Judy Dunks Wilby**

Mrs. Wanamaker's Defeat

TACOMA, WASH.

The voting public denied re-election for the state office of Superintendent of Public Instruction to an individual who is recognized nationally and internationally for her knowledge of, her policies in regard to, and her indomitable courage in support of public schools. **Time** and the **Saturday Review** have written commendatory articles about Pearl A. Wanamaker in her capacity of Superintendent.

Not only were all the teachers' and administrators' organizations allied for Mrs. Wanamaker's reelection but she also had the endorsement of the state AFL-CIO. Many individual educators endorsed her publicly. Her opponent received token endorsement from three or four persons.

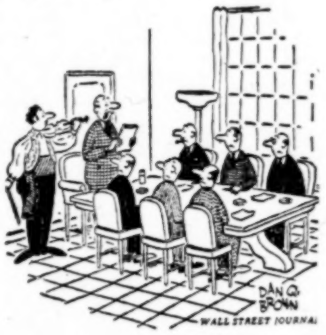
Can anyone imagine the Bar Assn. faring so badly on its endorsements of judicial candidates? Or of the people choosing a doctor to administer a public health program who advocates the use of aspirin and hot water bottles when antibiotics have proven themselves more valuable?

The entire school program cannot fail to suffer when the incoming Superintendent has shown by his record in the State Senate that he is opposed to such basic issues as kindergartens, minimum salaries, adequate retirement for teachers, Federal funds for education.

It is going to be imperative that many of us in Washington state become lobbyists in order to preserve our children's educational rights.

M. S. and M. G.

Mrs. Wanamaker risked her career by fighting for teachers' rights, was attacked by Fulton Lewis and many others. She was defeated by former State Senator (1953-55) Lloyd Andrews, with one term as a temporary teacher 13 years ago.



Wall St. Journal

"—And now for the financial report of the fiscal year—"

Non-Marxist movement

DETROIT. MICH.

Now that the elections are over it is time to begin thinking and planning to build up an independent American socialist movement for 1960. The writer has already written to Vincent Hallinan and Clifford McAvoy regarding the manner in which he thinks this movement can be successfully initiated and carried to a successful conclusion by the time the 1960 elections are held.

In **The Insurgent Spring** (The Gallant Herald Press, 9 Sherman Av., New York City 40, $1.50) he sets forth a program which, based on other than Marxist ideas, is of a nature which cannot fail to attract socialists of all kinds and at the same time is in strict keeping with Jeffersonian democracy, as well as with Christian and Jewish social principles. It is a program to which the Catholic Church can take no exception, in fact must willy-nilly approve of it, and which will attract Jews, Catholics and Protestants as well as atheists and other unbelievers.

The writer would like to hear from any one interested in the organization of a U. S. independent Socialist Party or movement along the lines indicated above. Write him at the address above.

Rev. Clarence E. Duffy.

Attention

SANTA FE, N. M.

I call attention to the deservedly unknown author who wrote: "Poor public officials are elected by good citizens who fail to vote." I call attention to the fact that it reads better with "fail to" eliminated from the sentence.

Preston McCrossen

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REPORT TO READERS

'The best of all'

WE ARE BRIMMING OVER, of course, with gratification and all kinds of good feelings over our Eighth Anniversary Dinner Nov. 15 in New York City; but it really is for some 600 guests, and not us, to say how the evening went.

One guest, who has attended virtually every GUARDIAN affair since we started having them back in '48, stopped off on his way home after the dinner to send a telegram, which we got at the office the next morning. With ill-disguised concurrence, we herewith present the text, with original punctuation:

OUT OF ALL THE FINE GUARDIAN PARTIES I HAVE ATTENDED, THIS WAS JUST ABOUT THE BEST OF ALL. IT WAS PERFECTLY MANAGED, SPLENDILY STAGED, ADMIRABLY TIMED WITH EXCELLENT CHAIRMEN SPARKLING SPEAKERS AND HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL BELFRAGE. CONGRATULATIONS ON A WONDERFUL EVENING.

CORLISS LAMONT

Honest reporting compels us to record almost universal agreement among the guests with Mr. Lamont; and the reasons are, we believe, that guest speakers at our affairs are few, brief and invariably memorable; staging, timing and management reflect painstaking effort for months in advance by a diminutive but heroic crew; people meet others they haven't seen for ages; and everybody streams out, glowing and fulfilled, before the clock gets to eleven!

OUR SPEAKERS, in order of appearance, were Dr. W. E. B. DuBois (introduced by Editor Jim Aronson as "the Permanent Delegate to the GUARDIAN's annual dinners and the most eloquent contributor to its pages"); Prof. Dirk Struik of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Paul Robeson and Dalton Trumbo.

There were also eight honored guests, presented in the following order: Eslanda Goode Robeson; Corliss Lamont, Ed Fitzgerald (whose chair was vacant since he had already started serving a prison term for refusal to comply with the Brownell Compulsory Testimony Act); Capt. Hugh Mulzac, wartime skipper of the nation's first merchantman with an integrated crew and a forefront fighter against screening of U.S. seamen; Rose Russell, legislative director of the Teachers' Union; John Wexley, author of **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg;** Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, chairman of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; and Steve Nelson, introduced by general manager John McManus as a great exemplar of the battle for freedom of opinion who "sits with us tonight a free man, with the Smith Act on the run and the sedition laws of 27 states invalidated through his valiant fighting."

For long-range perspective on today's trying times, we have been urged by innumerable of our guests to reprint as fully as possible the remarks of Dr. DuBois and Dalton Trumbo. Mr. Trumbo's text appears on P. 10; Dr. DuBois' will appear in a subsequent issue.

"THE HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL BELFRAGE" referred to in Mr. Lamont's telegram was indeed a most enlivening 16-mm. sound film from England of our Editor-in-Exile presiding over the GUARDIAN's London office (actually the workroom of his Talbot Square flat).

It was a labor of love, a bit "out of sync" as the film-makers say, but full of enjoyment and friendly sentiment, toward Dr. DuBois in particular and all the rest of us in general. It concluded with a closeup toast to us all in the wine of the country, with Cedric and Mrs. Belfrage (Dr. Jo) raising glasses together. The lights went on unmercifully fast at the fade-out, catching quite a few tears not fully wiped away.

•

NEXT GUARDIAN AFFAIRS will be those in Los Angeles (Dec. 7) and San Francisco (Dec. 14), with Editor Aronson and Tabitha Petran's eye-witness report on Eastern Europe and the Middle East. In addition, Miss Petran is scheduled to report at a meeting of the Chicago American-Soviet Friendship Council Nov. 30 (see P. 11). In our enthusiasm over the wide interest and cooperation in these meetings we went a bit overboard in the Nov. 12 Report to Readers, saying that the head of the Calif. Lawyers Guild had signed up as an usher for the L.A. meeting. This was a 100% error; a plain case of finding ourselves too broad for our breaches. **—THE GUARDIAN**

ANTI-SOVIET FEELING HIGH

United but worried Israel is now asking: What next?

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

TEL AVIV

IN THE SHORT SPAN of two weeks, Israel has run the full emotional gamut: After the first shock at the invasion of Sinai, victory was so lightning that almost the entire country was swept off its feet with enthusiasm. Sober citizens stood in awe at the marvels performed by "our boys." Even those who knew that the "walk into Egypt" was facilitated by the round-the-clock bombing of Egyptian cities by Anglo-French air forces, tried to convince themselves, for a few short days, that now Israel would be safe from Egyptian marauders and fedayeen gangs.

The argument heard most frequently in Israel, of course, is that if she had not struck now—with the help of whatever powers were willing to aid her—she would have been exterminated by the combined power of the Arab states, who have never concealed their intention of eliminating Israel as a state and whose unceasing border attacks have cost Israel over 2,000 civilian lives during the period of the so-called armistice.

The new immigrants of the last eight years—from Eastern Europe and from the Oriental countries—are loudest in their new chauvinism. But there are the others, living here for a generation or more, who are sober and of heavy heart, for the burden of the past is still with them, and the burden of the future yet to come.

ALERT EXPECTANCY: They know peace is by no means assured; Israel's relations with her Arab neighbors still is an unknown quantity. Great uneasiness still prevails, reinforced by every report of new troop movements into Jordan on the part of Syria and Iraq and Jordan's own military preparations. The public thus remains in an alert expectancy. But while military preoccupation play an important part, there are political aspects which concern many, too.

Apart from the small Communist Party, there has been no organized opposition to the war. The labor parties here—Mapai, Achdut Avoda and Mapam—form the overwhelming majority of the coalition which decided on the "walk into Egypt" and no dissenting voice has been heard, at least from the first two. Mapam, the curious political entity, which draws its support from the kibbutzim on the one hand and some urban intellectuals on the other—finds itself in a most anomalous position: Its two cabinet members originally voted against the war but failed to resign when the vote went against them.

It seems hard to believe that a socialist party, voting on so vital an issue as war and peace, should find it possible to remain in a government with which it disagrees on this question.

THAT BURDEN: This uneasiness over the political implications of the blitz against Egypt is not confined to the Left. An editorial in the German-language daily **Yidiot Hadashot** on Nov. 2 was reminiscent of the times of Kaiser Wilhelm II. It contained such gems as that "we are the Prussians of the Middle East" and that Israel must now "share the white man's burden" with England and France. But most German Jews, an important part of the solid middle class, are not only averse to flag-waving but have done some serious soul-searching during the first fateful week. Persons far removed from the political Left are asking themselves: What next? Granted the best of all possibilities, what are the political consequences?

Few Israelis disapprove of the military operations as such—feeling a sense of relief by decisive action after the tension of the last eight years. But many are worried about Israel's moral position. They are worried by the heavy UN vote against Israel; by America's opposition; by Premier Nehru's severe censure.

Left entirely to themselves, Israel and the Arab states might have found a modus vivendi; but in today's world it is utopian to believe that small states can or will be left entirely to themselves. Thus they became the political football of Great powers.

IT'S NOT ALL PLOWING
Israeli farmer ready for raiders

This does not absolve the direct participants of blame. But the blame must be shared by those who rule the world's destiny: by the Western powers, including America, who have long fished in troubled waters; by the Soviet Union, which, instead of throwing its full weight into the balance for peace, joined in the arms race begun long before.

RUSSIA'S ATTITUDE: Vast quantities of arms fell into Israeli hands during the Sinai campaign, considerable quantities of British and Canadian supplies were captured, but the vast majority, and especially the latest types, were Russian-made, much of it never used.

The Russian war material, together with Premier Bulganin's note to Premier Ben Gurion, threatening the existence of Israel as a state, produced a violent anti-Soviet feeling among the population. This feeling has been strengthened by such reported broadcasts as that of East German radio which referred to Israel as a "community of Jewish dogs."

Even progressive circles, who genuinely deplore Israel's attack on Egypt, and especially what they regard as a shameful alliance with the most reactionary French and British interests, feel today that the Soviet attitude is directed not only against Israel as a "tool of imperialism," but against Israel as such—with dangerous anti-Semitic overtones. They regard Bulganin's threat as intolerable, especially since it is the argument persistently used by the most reactionary Arab circles.

The Soviet Union which, they feel, should have acted as a bridge between progressive elements both in the Arab countries and in Israel, has now sided with the most rabidly xenophobic circles in the Arab world. Progressive Israelis—of whom there are few today—see little hope of a stable and peaceful future.

Today, Cairo lies in ashes, Tel Aviv has escaped a similar fate; but people wonder about the future within and without our borders.

Israel may win a war against the Arabs, but she must live with the Arabs, in an Asian context beyond the narrow horizon.

AS THE TORIES CONTINUE TO TALK TOUGH

Bevan issues a call to sanity

By Cedric Belfrage

AS COLOMBIAN and Scandinavian troops landed in Egypt, a British statesman spoke with authority for all who saw these UN "policemen" as the symbol of humanity's hopes for peace. In the preceding days, civilization had come nearer than ever before to self-extinction in a hydrogen war. Moscow, which had shocked the world with its action in Hungary, talked of a "volunteer" expeditionary force to aid Egypt and of rockets falling on Britain. Retiring NATO commander Gen. Gruenther won scare headlines in returning the threats. Western jingoes willing to commit suicide rather than stop and think were raging with frustration at the Egyptian cease-fire and at their inability to stage a major intervention in Hungary.

Between the incendiaries and the touching-off of World War III stood world opinion symbolized by the handful of "policemen" at the canal. In striking contrast to the napalm "police action" in Korea, UN had sent to Egypt only a token force from small nations. To Aneurin Bevan, now emerging from political twilight as probably Britain's next foreign minister, this action painted some of the outline of a "new bold policy for peace." Calling the UN force "a physical manifestation of a moral idea," Bevan wrote in his **Tribune** (11/16) that it "asserted by its presence the involvement of the world in every quarrel between nations that carries the threat of force." If the police-action theory ended in building up a vast war machine, "that fact would not be evidence of success but of a failure."

WHAT IS REQUIRED: He added: "If the UN Police are seen to be a body armed not only with guns but with the means to develop the resources of the Middle East, to irrigate the desert, plough back the revenues from oil into the countries from which they are taken . . . if all this is done by and with the authority of the UN, then nothing more would be required to keep the peace in the Middle East."

Meanwhile the likelihood of any early withdrawal of troops from Egypt by a Tory government looked remote. Tory ranks were loud with anti-U. S. jeremiads and bickerings over whether the action should have been halted at Port Said. Encouraged by a favorable swing of public opinion—which was undoubtedly influenced by events in Hungary—Eden indicated readiness to stall indefinitely about handing over to the UN force. It must first be certain that it was "effective", he said, implying that he himself would be the judge on the basis of whether the canal was "defended" from the Egyptians—not the UN through its "police chief" Gen. Burns.

HARD WINTER AHEAD: Eden talked of taking a month's vacation, apparently unconcerned by the hurricane signals over the House of Commons. As the last Suez-routed tankers docked in British ports, the bill Britain would have to pay for Eden's adventure was the subject of a new barrage of Labourite questions. Tory spokesmen sourly admitted the massive destruction of Middle East oil-supply lines, and that the Suez Canal—functioning freely before the attack—was blocked by 49 sunken ships. The time needed to clear the canal, whenever that could be started, was estimated variously up to a year.

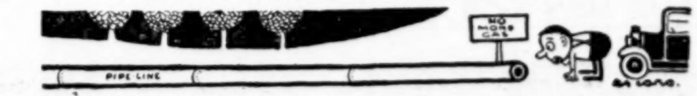
That Britons faced a hard and stormy winter, whatever happened now in Egypt, was clear from the **Times'** ominous conclusion: ". . . The price has to be paid in extra effort and shorter commons [rations]". With unions already in fiercely militant mood before the adventure, there was a possibility of another devaluation of sterling, causing prices to mount still higher. At the same time the workers' housing shortage had reached crisis proportions and there could be no further government aid to building.

A CALL TO SANITY: In a startling revelation of Tory chaos over the Egyptian adventure, the **Times** (11/16) reported that both Britain's Middle Eastern diplomats—who were never consulted in advance—and its military commanders, who regarded the half-way aggression as lunacy, were rife with "incredulous" frustration. Diplomats bitterly contemplated the debris of British relations with all Arab states. The military were aware that if a further push into Egypt were ordered, it would be difficult and costly from the "military island" of Port Said; and that their forces neither held any jet-aircraft landing field nor were able to clear the canal.

But amid the chaos Bevan's call to sanity rang out and had to be heard. Turning to the crisis in Hungary, he said that the Soviet government was equally learning "the hard way" to recognize the limits of armed force. Without mass support no government could rule a modern state successfully.

A NEW CHAPTER: But the West had "always misunderstood" Moscow's concern about its **cordon sanitaire** of western-boundary states, and only if the West reduced Soviet "fears of European hostility" could these states move toward independence. Peace and freedom would remain imperiled as long as the West continued its "old barren policy" of NATO, German rearmament and Western bases in Germany. Independence for the East European states was to the West's "vital interest", since "the deeper the belt of neutral countries lying between us and Russia (preferably including a united neutralized Germany) the better for both." This would be in the Soviets' interests also because the rocket-A-bomb age had in any case "reduced the value of the **cordon sanitaire** almost to a vanishing point in the eyes of many Russian military experts."

Bevan concluded his call to peace: "It is time to write a new chapter in our relations with Russia and Europe. I believe that in this way we can best help heroic Hungary, and at the same time help ourselves."



"I'm beginning to understand why they're putting a tax on bicycles."
Escaro in Liberation, Paris

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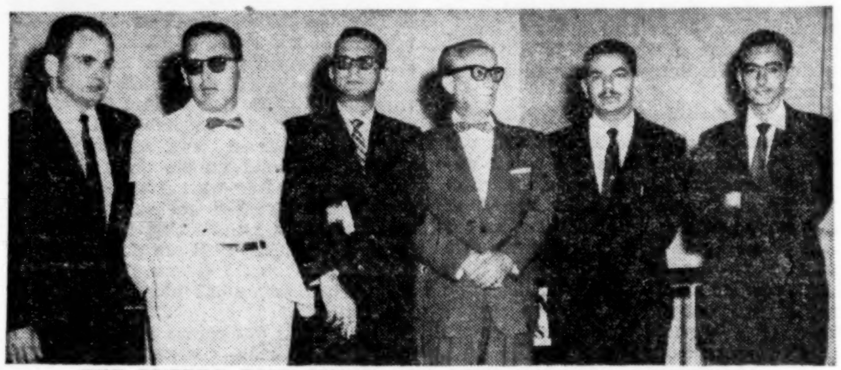
AT CORE OF SMITH ACT TRIAL

Puerto Rico freedom fight is passionate but divided

By Elmer Bendiner



THE PUERTO RICO SMITH ACT CASE DEFENSE ATTORNEYS
Left to right: David I. Shapiro, A. Diaz Gonzalez, Rafael Perez Marchand, Jorge Landing and Pablo Garcia Rodriguez, a Harvard graduate who is also a defendant.

IN A U. S. FEDERAL District Court in San Juan on Nov. 2 defense attorneys argued that their clients, 11 members and ex-members of the Puerto Rican Communist Party, could not be charged with advocating forcible overthrow of the "government of the U. S. in Puerto Rico," because, under the Commonwealth, no such government exists.

The 11 are being tried under the Smith Act and the attempt to export that law to the Commonwealth could be a major test of the Island's independence. Judge Ruiz Nazario, a member of the Statehood Party which prefers to see Puerto Rico a 49th state rather than an independent nation, indicated disapproval of the defense argument.

He listened intently, however, when defense attorney David Shapiro of New York traced other distinctive aspects of this latest Smith Act prosecution. With chalk on a blackboard Shapiro traced the connections of all other Smith trials with the original Foley Sq. prosecution of Eugene Dennis and other top leaders of the American CP. In the Puerto Rican case no such link is alleged. Shapiro argued that the U. S. government was now saying that the Puerto Rican CP, with a total membership of 50 and activities restricted to Puerto Rico, is a "clear and present danger" to the continental U. S.

MAY BE POSTPONED: As a by-product of Shapiro's arguments, Judge Nazario admitted that the Supreme Court's decision in the Steve Nelson case seemed to rule out the Island's own sedition act, Law 53, under which the Nationalists have been imprisoned.

The Judge reserved decision on the dismissal motions and set Nov. 19 for a conference with lawyers of both sides. If the motions are denied the trial is scheduled to open on Nov. 26; but last week there were indications that it might be postponed.

There is no popular clamor or press hysteria in Puerto Rico over the trial. There is reportedly a pronounced disinclination, even in official circles, to press the case; the dawn raids by FBI men on CP leaders in 1954 produced general embarrassment. At the moment there is also no inclination to test the Commonwealth status.

The Nov. 6 elections returned Gov. Muñoz Marin and his Popular Party to a fifth term in office with a thumping majority of 430,747 to the Statehood Party's 167,112 and the Independence Party's 90,997. Muñoz in his victory statement said that the Commonwealth is "the ultimate and definitive status for the Island which has no reason to go toward independence or simple statehood in the North American Union."

THE FIGHT GOES ON: The Statehood Party rose to second place with a gain of 81,940 over 1952, while the Independentists went to third, dropping 34,747 votes. The Statehood Party is closely allied with the Republicans in the U. S., and its boom may have reflected the Eisenhower tide which apparently swept across the Caribbean. The glowing reports of U. S. prosperity and the reflection of it in U. S. capital for housing projects now blossoming in the Island has raised the Statehood Party to its all-time high. But it still is far overshadowed by the Popular Party which retains its mass strength and a very efficient machine.

The Puerto Rican clamor for an end to colonial rule of the island went on for centuries under Spain and has persisted for half a century under U. S. rule. For most of the time the movement has been passionate but divided. There have been many solutions offered. Under Spain some wanted representation in the Cortes at Madrid—and got it. Others demanded union with the U.S. Still others demanded independence. The fight has persisted with petitions and occasional desperate demonstrations answered by bloodshed.

TWO CONDITIONS: In 1947 President Truman granted Puerto Rico the right to choose its own governor, until then a Presidential appointee. In 1950 the U. S. Congress authorized the Puerto Ricans to call a convention to modify the old colonial status of the island but attached two conditions: (1) it must change nothing fundamental in relationships between the U. S. and Puerto Rico; (2) the final draft must be submitted to the U. S. Congress for approval.

The late Vito Marcantonio who in 20 years had introduced five bills for genuine Puerto Rican independence, labeled this one "a reaffirmation of the status quo in Puerto Rico under the guise of a meaningless self-government."

The proposal was tastefully served to the Puerto Ricans. The convention to draft the changes was called a "constitutional convention." The amendments to the old act were called a Constitution. The new relationship was called in direct translation from the Spanish, a "Free State Associated With the United States." Washington called it a Commonwealth.

OPPOSITION DIVIDED: Puerto Ricans voted three times on the matter: once to set up the "Constitutional Convention"; again for the election of delegates and, finally, to approve the draft. The new order won handily every time but the significant statistic was that more than half of the Puerto Ricans stayed home. At no time did the majority ever endorse the Commonwealth. It was not due to public apathy because, unlike voters of the Continental U. S., a Puerto Rican election almost invariably draws over 90 percent of the electorate.

The high abstention was due to a tactic of the opposition which was, as usual, divided. A minority urged a "No" vote and, if necessary, the election of delegates to the convention pledged to turn it into a real movement for independence. The majority of dissenters simply stayed away from the polls; some because they would take no part in a maneuver by what they called a foreign country; some because they feared a rigged vote; some because they thought the Commonwealth status would be an improvement but still so far short of real independence that they could vote neither for nor against it.

While the Constitution was being drafted and "approved," some 300 Nationalists were being tried for sedition after riots and house-to-house searches. The display of Puerto Rico's single-starred flag or the singing of its anthem, La Borinqueña, was still a crime.

The draft went to Congress which was abundantly reasurred by spokesmen for the Committee on Insular Affairs and for the Muñoz Martin administration that there would be "no change of sovereignty" and in fact few other changes.

Congress did find one new note in the draft and deleted it. It was Section 20, copied almost verbatim from the UN-approved Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It left a declaration of home rule more restrictive than any state of the Union would accept. It establishes a two-house Congress and a governor for the Island, to be elected by popular vote. It grants the Island government certain rights to legislate on strictly local matters but reserves to the U. S. the power to regulate Puerto Rico's trade with other countries and determine the size of its sugar crop. U. S. laws—including the Smith Act, Taft-Hartley and McCarran Act—apply to the Island. Puerto Ricans are subjected to the draft and all defense legislation. They can have no independent foreign policy. Decisions of their courts are reviewable by U. S. courts. Though subject to legislation of the U. S. Congress, Puerto Rico has no vote in the Congress and no say about the election of the President. It sends a resident commissioner who is allowed to attend Congressional sessions and by courtesy to speak—but he can cast no vote. (In honor of the revolutionary slogan: "No taxation without representation" Washington assesses no income taxes on Puerto Ricans.)

The limited freedoms under the Commonwealth are revocable at any time the U. S. Congress chooses to write a new law for the Island.

AN ANTHEM AGAIN: On July 25, 1952, the Commonwealth was proclaimed. La Borinqueña became a legal hymn again and the Puerto Rican flag could be flown in safety. As soon as the Commonwealth was set up the U. S. told the UN it would no longer submit reports on Puerto Rico to the Trusteeship Council since the Island was no longer a "non-self-governing territory." While Puerto Rican pickets paraded in front of UN headquarters in N. Y. the Trusteeship Council debated the Commonwealth status.

Mme. Lakshmi Menon of India said bluntly: "Puerto Rico is definitely not a territory which has attained independence nor is it separate in identity." She called the status inferior to that of a state of the Union. After a week of stormy debate and the mobilizing of all hands the U. S. could muster by corridor conferences, the Trusteeship Council agreed to consider Puerto Rico "self-governing." But the closeness of the vote, 22-18, indicated the delegates' doubts.

(The question of independence is not exclusively a political one and no simple declaration from Washington can solve the Island's problems. The chronic economic crisis there and the prospects for economic freedom will be covered in forthcoming GUARDIAN stories.)

THE GREAT MONTGOMERY VICTORY

Supreme Court outlaws segregation on buses

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT last week ruled that jimcrow on intrastate buses is illegal, affirming a two-to-one ruling of the Federal Court in Montgomery last June 5 that the state's segregation laws no longer applied to city and state bus passengers. The majority had declared that the local statutes "violate the due process and equal protection clauses of the 14th Amendment." All three judges were native Alabamans.

The applicable section of the 14th Amendment declares no state "shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the U.S., nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

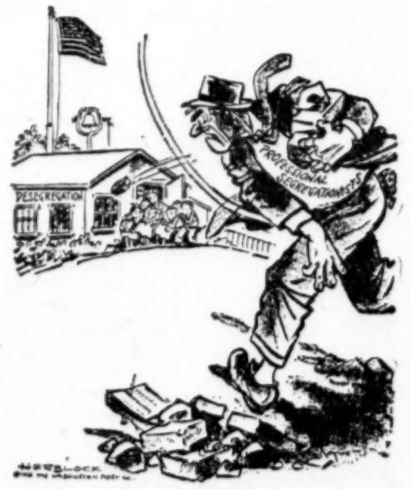
JIMCROW OUTLAWED: The Supreme Court on Nov. 13 said merely that it affirmed the lower court ruling; however, that brief statement, according to UP, "was far more sweeping than a high court action of April 23, which outlawed bus segregation in four Southern states—but on a technicality, without settling the constitutional question." The latest affirmation "appeared broad enough to outlaw all city and state laws requiring segregation on public transportation within state borders."

The ruling is expected to affect similar jimcrow laws in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas, and Tennessee, although each state could fight separately to preserve its segregation statutes. The bus system of Tallahassee, Florida's capital, has been hampered by an anti-jimcrow bus movement since early spring.

11 MONTHS LATER: The ruling came 11 months after the Montgomery Improvement Assn. was organized to conduct a one-day boycott of city buses. The Dec. 5, 1955, boycott, resulted from the conviction of Mrs. Rosa Parks, Negro needleworker, for refusing to yield her bus seat to a white man. City and bus line officials refused to accede to MIA's demand for first-come, first-served seating, courtesy to Negro passengers, and Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes.

The suit which led to the Supreme Court declaration of last week was brought by four Negro women members of the MIA. They had been arrested and fined for refusing to obey the segregation law relating to buses.

AT THE CAR POOL: Simultaneously with the Supreme Court's ruling, Alabama Circuit Court Judge Eugene Carter in Montgomery granted a temporary injunction to stop MIA from using its pool of 300 privately owned cars, including some 25 church-owned station wagons, to transport the city's 50,000 Negroes. If the injunction is enforced, the protesters will have to walk or return to the buses.



Herblock in Washington Post

"I said there'd be trouble and I won't have you making a liar out of me."

Protest leader and MIA president Martin Luther King Jr. told 5,000 cheering members at a mass meeting in Montgomery on the night of Nov. 14: "We will return to the buses on a non-segregated basis as soon as the mandate from the U. S. Supreme Court is turned over to the Federal District Court." At GUARDIAN presstime the mandate had not yet been turned over. The Negroes still walked.

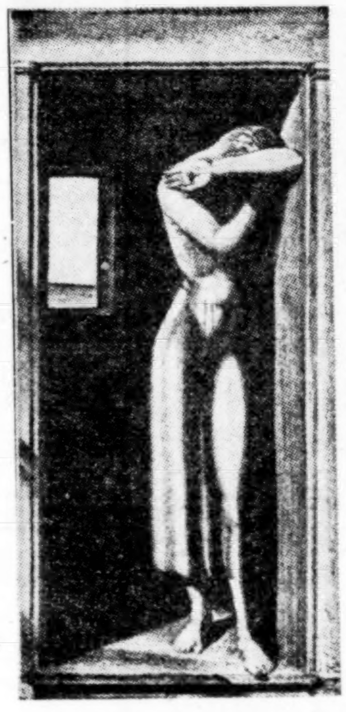
Alcatraz

. . . Kiss the wall and caress
the glass.
Feast, after your lonesome
fast.
Cherish this joy, garner your
pleasure
Emptiness demands it back,
full measure.

Here is studied destruction,
Scorched sorrow engulfed
by shifting sand.
Madly we fill and empty
our cups,
Our moments beyond our
command.
We must drink of our love,
taste of our truth,
Seconds must be the days,
the years, of our youth.

—HELEN SOBELL

From "You Who Love Life," a volume of poems by Helen Sobell, with lithographs by Rockwell Kent. Sydmar Press, 39 Charlton St., New York 14, N. Y. $1.



A MAN STILL HOPES

New Sobell appeal Dec. 3

FOUR YEARS AGO on Thanksgiving Day Morton Sobell was transferred to Alcatraz prison in San Francisco Bay from the Federal detention prison in New York. There, 3,000 miles from his family and from attorneys seeking a new trial for him, his government plans to make him serve out a 30-year sentence for conspiracy to commit espionage with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg during the war years.

The immediate offense which placed him among the nation's worst criminals in the nation's most damnable prison, was insisting on his innocence of the charge and refusing to testify against the Rosenbergs. The Rosenbergs were then appealing their conviction and death sentence which was carried out June 19, 1953.

As in the Rosenberg case, the Supreme Court refused to review Sobell's conviction; but in 1955 new evidence appeared to prove that the government had kidnapped Sobell from Mexico to try him and that it had knowingly used perjured testimony against him. Motions for a new trial were filed early this year and were rejected without full hearing by Federal Judge Irving Kaufman, who sentenced both the Rosenbergs and Sobell and in whose court the perjuries are stated to have occurred.

A NEW APPEAL: On Dec. 3, attorneys for Sobell will file an appeal with the U.S. Circuit Court from Judge Kaufman's decision, contesting that the new evidence warranted a full hearing, which Kaufman denied.

This Thanksgiving Day in upwards of 1,000 localities throughout the U.S., groups of Americans dedicated their holiday gatherings to the support of Morton Sobell's petition for a new trial. Also in support were leading citizens such as Elmer Davis, Prof. Linus Pauling, Sen. William Langer, scientist Harold Urey, Walter Millis, Warren K. Billings, found innocent after serving 23 years in prison on the Tom Mooney labor frameup; Dr. Roland H. Bainton of Yale Divinity School, and hundreds of writers, lawyers, scientists, clergymen and others not convinced of his guilt.

Morton Sobell's hopes, and his gratitude to those on the outside seeking justice for him, are expressed in the following letter, written to his wife Helen as this Thanksgiving anniversary of his transfer to Alcatraz approached:

I've been imprisoned now for over 6 years. A year at the Tombs, a couple of months in Atlanta, over a year at the Detention House in N. Y. and on Thanksgiving eve I will have been here 4 years exactly—on this island. Each of these periods is a separate chapter of my prison life which has its counterpart in the full world—in your struggle for my vindication. . . .

It's odd but I never felt out of place in any of the prisons. Always the other inmates showed me the greatest consideration as if leaning over backward because I was a "square John". For my part, I don't think I would ever have developed a sensitivity or understanding of others such as I acquired during the past years if I had not been imprisoned. The necessity would never have made itself as urgently felt. Of those on the outside I have only your letters to tell me, thus they are almost like a mystic body to me. I know they are there. I know their selflessness and determination but I do not really know them and consequently feel at a loss. But I know that that will all be remedied in the end—soon. . . .

I well recall how on previous occasions, when we began pressing some new action, my hopes soared up like a sailplane caught in an updraft—only to plummet to earth. But when we began working on this petition the thought of freedom regained never entered my mind except through conscious effort. And then it was the problems associated with one's freedom—life's real problems, not the fanciful ones of the opium smoker—that filled my head.

It's not very frequently that one can make such a complete break with the past and now, as in my youth, the romantic idea of how to serve "man" best occurs. I think I'll make a strenuous effort to somehow enter the field of medical electronics—even only as an avocation. And yet another problem. How can I repay all those who have toiled so tirelessly on my behalf? One can't just forget it.

I guess it's natural each time to feel more optimistic than ever before but I think sound reasons exist for my present mood. First, the intrinsic power of the present petition is of a much higher order than of anything that has preceded it and second, the external situation has changed for the better. Thus it is that four Thanksgivings later I feel most thankful for soon, soon it will all be over—soon.

Morton Sobell,
Thanksgiving, 1956

TAFT-HARTLEY CONSPIRACY CHARGE

14 in Mine-Mill union are indicted

A FEDERAL grand jury in Denver on Nov. 16 indicted 14 officers and staff members of the independent Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers on a charge of conspiring to defraud the government. Specifically the indictment charges the 14 with conspiring, beginning June 15, 1949, with four Communist Party leaders to obtain the services and facilities of the Natl. Labor Relations Board "without lawfully and in good faith qualifying the union for those services."

The indictment claims the conspiracy was accomplished by filing false non-communist affidavits under the Taft-Hartley law. It is charged that the 14 conspired with CP leaders Arthur Bary, Gil Green, Fred Fine and John Williamson. All four have been convicted under the Smith Act. Williamson has since been deported to England and Bary has been expelled from the CP.

"ATTACK ON UNION": Maximum penalties under the conspiracy charge are five years imprisonment and $10,000 fines. The indictment contends that those of the 14 who signed affidavits "pretended to resign" from the CP but actually retained their membership. All 14 were released in bail of $5,000 each. The union's executive board issued this statement:

"This is not an attack on 14 individuals, but an attack on an old and respected labor union and its members. The individuals are all confident of vindication. The Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers is sure that this method of union-busting will be thrown out of the courts."

TWICE FOR TRAVIS: The Mine, Mill union has been under continuing government attack for several years. Maurice Travis, former secy. treas., has been convicted of filing a false Taft-Hartley affidavit and is now appealing from a sentence of eight years and an $8,000 fine. Clinton Jencks, a former organizer, is now appealing a similar conviction to the Supreme Court which has agreed to review his case this term. Both have since left the union, but Travis is among those indicted on the conspiracy charge.

In May of this year the House Committee on Un-American Activities held four-day hearings in Denver; eight members of the union called as witnesses declined to answer questions about their political beliefs or associations. Two months later, while the union was in its fourth week of a strike against three of the Big Four in the industry, Brownell cited it to the Subversive Activities Control Board as "communist-infiltrated" under the Communist Control Act. Hearings on that charge are pending. The union won the strike.

11 YEARS OF WOE

High court will hear Service case

JOHN S. SERVICE, a State Dept. career diplomat with 18 years experience and an expert on China, was one of the first targets of Joe McCarthy as "one of a group of card-carrying Communists in the State Department." Since 1945 Service was under almost continuous investigation—and was repeatedly cleared of all charges against him until Secy. of State Dean Acheson summarily dismissed him on Dec. 13, 1951.

Since then Service has fought for reinstatement. On Nov. 13 he won an important round in his battle when the Supreme Court agreed to review his case.

Service's troubles began when he was arrested in 1945 and accused of passing confidential information to the since defunct **Amerasia** magazine which specialized in Far Eastern affairs. He was completely cleared by a grand jury.

NO "SECURITY RISK": After McCarthy made his charge (which he later revised to calling Service an associate of and collaborator with Communists), Service was twice cleared by the State Dept.'s own Loyalty Board. A subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which investigated McCarthy's accusations, found Service "neither a disloyal person, a pro-Communist, nor a security risk."

But in October 1951, the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission on its own motion decided to reopen the case and on Dec. 12 of that year decided that there was reasonable doubt of Service's loyalty. He was fired the next day from his $11,800-a-year job. President Truman refused to intervene.

"LAWLESS" FINDINGS: In subsequent court tests, Service's name was cleared of all disloyalty charges following a Supreme Court decision that the old Loyalty Review Board had no authority to reopen a case once an accused person had won clearance. But his dismissal was upheld on the ground that Acheson had acted properly under a law—no longer on the books—which gave him absolute discretion to fire when dismissal was deemed necessary or advisable in the interests of the U. S.

Service now contends that Acheson actually acted on the basis of the "lawless" findings of the Loyalty Review Board. In his appeal he argues that the then Secy. of State "took discretionary action but based it solely upon findings and an opinion of the Loyalty Review Board which represented a lawless assumption of jurisdiction and rested in chief part upon an unlawful use of secret and grossly unreliable evidence."

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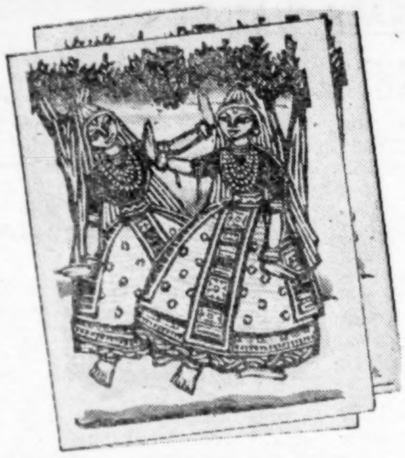

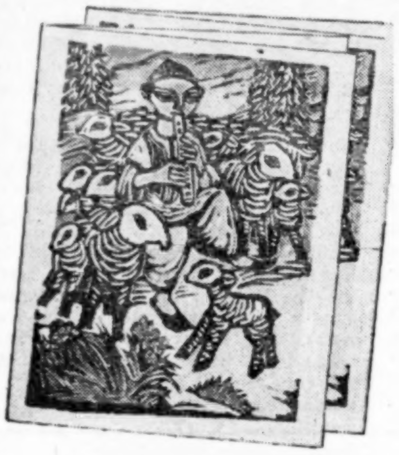

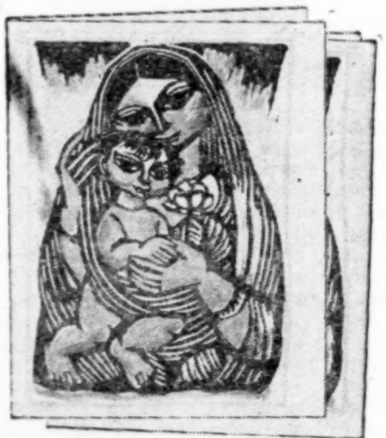

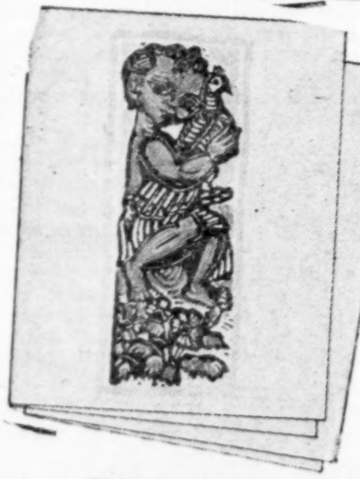

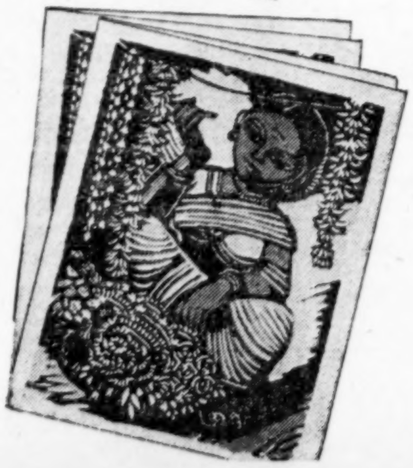

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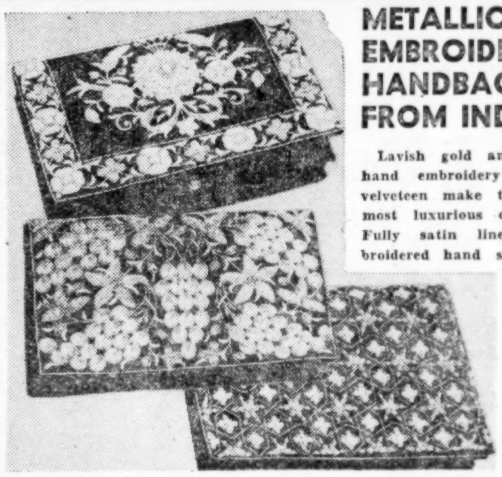

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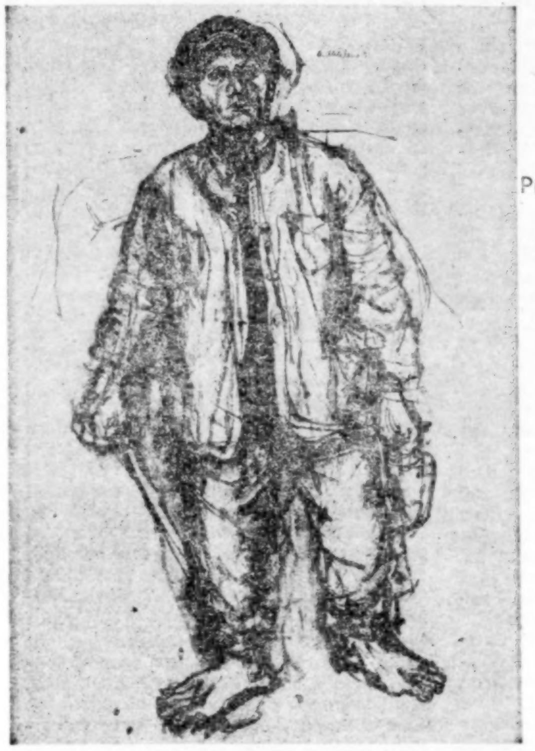

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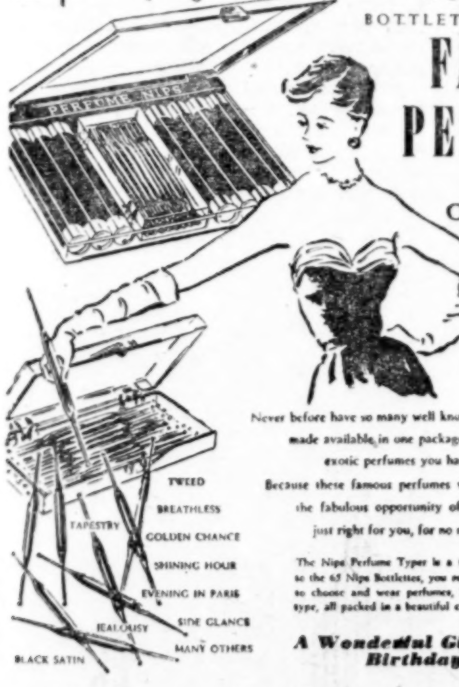

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Tied-Tongue Baby

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# 68. BOB & LOUISE DeCORMIER SING BALLADS AND FOLK SONGS

Hi Ro Jerum
Walking and A'Talking
My Old Man
Missy Mouse
Par Un Matin
Sam Hall
Buffalo Boy
Cuckoo
French Partisan Song
Far From My Darlin'

•

# 17. LEADBELLY MEMORIAL Volume I

Good Night Irene
Good Morning Blues
On A Monday
Old Riley
John Henry
Rock Island Line
Ain't You Gold
How Long

•

# 28. CALYPSO SUNG BY DUKE OF IRON, MACBETH, LORD BEGINNER, LORD INVADER, FELIX and his INTERNATIONALS.

Small Island
Dorothy, One Morning
Cousin Family
Norah the War Is Over
Matilda
Shake Around
Mary Ann
New York Subway

# 79. FOURPENCE A DAY and other BRITISH INDUSTRIAL FOLKSONGS sung by EWAN MacCOLL with banjo and guitar accompaniment.

Poor Paddy Works on the Railroad
The Gresford Disaster
The Four Loom Weaver
I'm Champion At Keeping 'Em Rollin'
The Collier Laddie
The Coal Owner and the Pitman's Wife
The Iron Horse
Fourpence A Day
The Blantyre Explosion
The Wark O' The Weavers
Cosher Bailey's Engine

•

# 3. EL FLAMENCO guitar solos by CARLOS MONTOYA.

Jote
Rondena
Farruca Dance
Seguirya
Folias-Canarias
Malaguena
Cafe De Chinitas
Algerias
Media Granaina
Zambrilla
Frankie Slide

•

# 44. FOLK SONGS by WOODIE GUTHRIE and CISCO HOUSTON.

Gypsy Day
Poor Boy
More Pretty Gals Than One
Pretty Boy Floyd
John Henry
Ain't Gonna Be Treated This Way
Rangers Command
Buffalo Skinners

•

# 15. JOSH WHITE SINGS

One Meat Ball
Motherless Children
St. James Infirmary
Careless Love
Outskirts of Town
T.B. Blues
Joshua Fit The Battle
Well, Well, Well

•

# 2. RICHARD DYER-BENNET

Little Pigs
Westron Wynde
The Frog and the Mouse
Two Maidens Went Milking
John Peel
Venezuela
The Eddystone Light
Blow the Candles Out
Brigg Fair
Molly Malone
As I Was Going to Ballynure

•

# 14. JOSH WHITE SINGS THE BLUES.

Baby Baby
Dupree
Miss Otis Regrets
Fare Thee Well
No. 12 Train
Mean Mistreatin' Woman
When I Lay Down and Die
I Got A Head Like A Rock
Cotton Eyed Joe

•

# 1. BURL IVES: THE WAYFARING STRANGER.

The Blue Tail Fly
The Fox
Henry Martin
Black Is the Color
Foggy Foggy Dew
Brennan On the Moor
Buckeye Jim
The Bold Soldier
Sow Took the Measles
Poor Wayfaring Stranger

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THIS IS THE WAY THE ARAB QUARTER OF PORT SAID LOOKS
A mother and her family pick their way through the rubble

Port Said story

(Continued from Page 1)

DIE OF THIRST: The British evidently hope that they will thus reduce the people to such a state that they will work for the invaders. A Sister of the Order of St. Vincent said: "I can't conceive of such barbarism; when people are burned they need much liquid but they were denied even a drop of water. Many people literally died of thirst. I couldn't stand listening to people wailing from thirst."

Port Said doctors said that a high percentage of the victims were women and children and they didn't die of one bullet but of many, that is, they were machine-gunned. Low-flying planes gunned fleeing women and children.

Hundreds of others died of suffocation and burns when the wooden huts in the poor Arab quarters were set afire. Only a rainfall saved the Arab city from complete destruction. The modern European quarters now used by the British—whom the Arabs call "butchers"—were hardly touched by the fire.

NOT WAR, BUT VENGEANCE: The dead were left in the streets for days. The hospitals were without enough supplies or hygienic equipment and there was a real danger of epidemics. The entire staff of the government hospital of 12 doctors and five nurses worked day and night since the invasion and were completely worn out. But the British have refused entry to the Egyptian doctors' association and women's organizations that want to help the wounded. The Egyptian military hospital, which formerly belonged to the British, was repeatedly bombed during the invasion.

Egyptian civilians told my informants repeatedly that this was not war but vengeance. But they were far from demoralized. Although outnumbered—the invaders brought in one soldier for each inhabitant—the people's resistance slowed the pace of the invasion. The Egyptians said: "One way or another, we have purified the country of the imperialists and won't let them back in." One man whose wife was killed begged for a gun so that he could kill as many as possible if the Anglo-French forces refused to evacuate Port Said.

Correspondents yesterday saw government films showing the canal workshops in Ismailia reduced to rubble, the widespread devastation of Port Said and the dreadful civilian casualties. During our trip to see the UN troops arrive we found the country road littered with burned trucks, cars and jeeps.

EGYPT DETERMINED: The Egyptian government takes seriously Indian Prime Minister Nehru's warning that the Anglo-French forces intend to stay put. There are no signs that the Anglo-French forces are preparing for evacuation. The British have announced that they will begin clearing the canal from both ends. To the man in the street the reported desire of British soldiers for Christmas home leave was a clear sign that they have no intention to leave for good.

A British soldier in Port Said told a foreign correspondent: "I want to get out fast. Let the Egyptians have the canal. It belongs to them and they ran it okay. But I guess there is no chance of my getting out. The UN troops will occupy the waterfront while we hold the city."

The Egyptian newspaper **Al Gomhouria** warns: "From bitter experience Egypt knows that imperialistic states may turn in their own favor the UN resolution that was decidedly against them." A French progressive was convinced after a brief visit here that Egypt's determination remained unbowed before the **fait accompli** and Egypt will not yield at any price to force or to blackmail. He had long talks with President Nasser. Egyptians will not tolerate British forces staying on; they will not engage in any discussion before total evacuation of foreign troops from their soil.

AT N. Y. FORUM

DuBois on future of U. S. socialism

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS said at the Socialist Unity Forum in New York, Nov. 9, that socialism had made great strides in the life if not in the thinking of the American people. As against the "rugged individualism" prevailing at the turn of the century, he said, poverty is no longer considered a natural condition and the government is now held partially responsible for curbing economic anarchy, for assuring a minimum of social legislation. When the bans on human rights are struck down and the fear of war disappears, socialism will go forward as an American movement, he said.

Dr. DuBois' remarks were made to a capacity crowd at the second Socialist Unity Forum, whose stated aim is to "provide a platform where socialists of various persuasions may discuss important problems," contributing in this way to "creating greater clarity" as a step "toward the regroupment of socialists in a new and united movement."

Other speakers in the symposium were John Lewine, a former director of the Eugene V. Debs School, and Carl Marzani, author of **We Can Be Friends.**

"Socialism After Stalin" is the topic in the last session of the 1956 series. William Mandel and F. G. Clarke will speak on this subject Friday, Nov. 23 at 229 Seventh Av., near 23rd St.

Communist turmoil

(Continued from Page 1)

Budapest correspondent. He quit the paper as a protest against what he called its refusal to publish the truth about the Hungarian rebellion and said that the requirements of political honesty "imply as speedy and outspoken condemnation of crimes by those who call themselves communist as of crimes committed by imperialism." But he said he would remain in the party.

The CP was once powerful among London dockers through the unofficial Port Workers Committee, but recently 800 dockers ran a CP speaker's van off the Surrey Docks and threatened to throw it in the river if it returned.

THE DEAN PROTESTS: On Nov. 13 John Gollan, CP secy., was chased through the streets in Cowes, Isle of Wight, by 200 angry students. He found refuge in the police station. Next day outside a Monmouthshire factory 200 workers attacked a CP speaker; police helped him escape. Earlier, when 150 student demonstrators were prevented from reaching the Soviet Embassy in Kensington Palace Gardens, some of them crossed London and demonstrated outside the **Daily Worker** offices in Farrington Road.

Rev. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, long a friend of the Soviet Union, said he would welcome a "cessation of the fratricidal strife in Hungary" and said that "morally I am no more able to condone these events than our attack on Egypt."

The British CP reacted to these events by calling an Extraordinary General Meeting for "early next year" but specified no date.

AUSTRIANS SHAKEN: The Austrian CP was reported shaken from top to bottom and one report said that at least 5,000 quit its ranks. Another report said that a draft of a congratulatory message to Moscow on the 39th anniversary of the revolution failed to win a majority in the party's central committee. In Graz, capital of the province of Styria, CP City Councilman Franz Kramer issued this statement:

"I condemn the policy that has led up to the events in Hungary and declare I intend to continue representing the Communist Party . . . only if it places itself publicly on the basis of an independent and autonomous Austrian policy."

In Italy the CP lost ground in recent provincial elections.

The Danish CP declared that it believed Soviet intervention in Hungary "prevented fascist forces from creating a new Spain in the heart of Europe," but asked for assurance from Moscow that Soviet troops will be withdrawn. The Norwegian CP said it "believes it will contribute to the creation of peace and order in Hungary and toward the withdrawal of Soviet troops if the UN's resolution of sending UN observers to Hungary is adopted."

FRANCE AND CANADA: In France the million - member Communist - influenced Genl. Confederation of Labor called for a "day of action against fascism" on Nov. 13 but the response was small and few members participated in planned demonstrations and work stoppages. The Confederation in a statement acknowledged "differences of opinion" on Hungary within the organization.

The Canadian Labor Progressive Party (Communist) has had rough going ever since the Khrushchev report on Stalin became known there. In mid-October Gui Caron, top LPP leader in Quebec, and five other leading members in that province resigned all their posts and offices. Caron gave as his reasons—he presumably spoke for all six—profound disillusionment stemming from the report on Stalin and the failure of the LPP to generate a full-scale discussion of the party's own past mistakes and errors. Four of the six were members of the LPP national committee. On Nov. 15 Harry Binder and Norman Penner, both of Toronto, resigned from the LPP's top national executive committee, which now has four vacancies.

U.S.—DEBATE RAGES: In the U.S. the Hungarian development added fuel to a debate that has been raging within the CP ever since the Khrushchev report became known. The West Coast **Daily People's World** provided contrasting views when it published in its Nov. 9 issue remarks by radio commentator Sidney Roger and an answer by John Pittman, a **PW** editor. Said Roger: "You can't impose socialism by shooting people. You can't earn respect and love for socialist ideals with guns and tanks and planes. No reasonable Hungarian could want to return to the dark clerical-fascist past. Will he now look yearningly toward a socialist future with a gun at his head while he buries his dead?"

Pittsman declared that as of the date he wrote, Nov. 6, "I feel it necessary to reserve judgment pending further information and study. I certainly oppose any outright condemnation of the Soviets for some fancied violation of 'morality'. The question is, whose morality?"

DENNIS VS. "WORKER": In New York the CP debate grew bitter. On Nov. 5 the **Daily Worker** published an editorial in which it declared that "the action of the Soviet troops in Hungary does not advance but retards the development of socialism because socialism cannot be imposed on a country by force." It added that Soviet armed intervention "damages the relations between socialist states" and "weakens the influence of the Soviet Union itself."

On Nov. 12 the paper published without comment on its letter page a communication from Eugene Dennis, CP genl. secy. His letter was given no special treatment except that it occupied the leadoff position. Dennis supported "the anti-fascist and pro-peace intervention" and said: "According to the **Daily Worker** . . . the use of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary—which was made at the request of the Kadar government to help block the near victory of Horthy fascist counter-revolution and increased Western imperialist intervention—'does not advance but retards the development of socialism.' But the opposite was and is the case."

Dennis in effect charged the editorial writer with a lack of "a Marxist, scientific working class outlook." A recent column by Joseph Clark, **DW** foreign editor, he dismissed with the remark that "a new low has been reached." Dennis concluded: "In critical times like these, and to serve the best interests of the American people, clarity and firm adherence to socialist working class principles are sorely needed."

New York also had a taste of violence in the streets. A rally of the Natl. Council for American-Soviet Friendship, attended by about 500, drew an angry group of about 200 pickets who threw tomatoes, eggs and bottles of ammonia. Some 250 cops were on hand but there were no arrests; no injuries were reported.

NO EXIT
CCCP

Co-existence Down Under

At the Olympic Games in Australia, Soviet hurdler Boris Stolyarov (c.) gets a few pointers in jitterbug from U. S. girl long-jumper Willie B. White of Mississippi. Looking on is sprinter Andy Stanfield of Jersey City. The games were to get under way Nov. 22. Will someone nominate Miss White as U. S. ambassador to Moscow?

BUDAPEST STRUGGLES BACK TO LIFE AFTER THE REVOLT
A paralyzing strike, long queues and children on the swings

Tito's warning

(Continued from Page 1)

and progressive governments that are friendly to their neighbors." They welcomed "the peaceful changes brought about in Poland," but regretted that "the process of change in Hungary was accompanied by violence, which not only led to misery and destruction but also came in the way of that very progress." The Prime Ministers hoped that "after the terrible strife through which Hungary has passed, necessary changes will be brought about peacefully and in accordance with the wishes of the people."

TITO SPEAKS OUT: A far more significant reaction came from Yugoslavia's President Tito, who was reported to have offered to mediate the Hungarian-Soviet difficulties.

In an 8,500 word speech, delivered on Nov. 11 and broadcast by the Belgrade radio on Nov. 16, Tito reviewed the relationship between the Soviet Union and the E. European countries. His speech was in part a reply to a recent article by Albanian CP leader Enver Hoxha which was reprinted in **Pravda.** The article, a slap at Yugoslavia, had attributed Hungary's troubles to the new principle of "separate roads to socialism."

Tito said the two joint Yugoslav-Soviet declarations of last summer "should in fact be significant, not only in our mutual relations, but also in relations between all Socialist countries, but unfortunately they have not been understood in this way." He had warned Moscow, he said, "that those tendencies that once provoked such strong resistance in Yugoslavia existed in all countries, and that one day they might find expression in other countries too." "Then," he had declared, "it would be far more difficult to rectify this."

RAKOSI AND GERO: When he was in Moscow, Tito said, he had discussions with the Soviet leaders "about Poland, Hungary and other countries." Although he had told the Soviet leaders about the incompetence of the Rakosi regime in Hungary, they did nothing until the Hungarian Communists themselves "demanded that Rakosi should go." Even then they supported Gero, who "did not differ from Rakosi."

And when Gero encountered hundreds of thousands of Hungarians demonstrating and demanding the removal from power of all "Stalinist elements" and "a transition to the road of democratization," he made the "fatal mistake of calling in the Soviet Army." "It is a great mistake," Tito commented, "to call in the army of another country to teach a lesson to the people of that country, even if there is some shooting."

Tito called it "a spontaneous revolt" which Imre Nagy, who replaced Gero, aggravated by his vacillations and by his appeal to the Western countries to intervene. As a result, it was "sad and tragic that the reactionaries were able to find there a very fertile ground and gradually to move things into their channels, thus exploiting for their own purposes a justified revolt which took place in Hungary."

KADAR'S POSITION: Tito, however, felt that the present Kadar government represented "that which is most honest in Hungary." But he felt, too, that "Soviet intervention is weakening" Kadar's program, placing Kadar "in a very difficult position." Tito thought the first Soviet intervention in Hungary "was absolutely wrong." But, although he was always "against the intervention and use of a foreign military force," in the face of chaos, civil war, counter-revolution and a possible new world war, he believed the second Soviet intervention—though "an error"—was necessary "if the latter saves socialism in Hungary."

Tito was "deeply convinced that the bloodshed in Hungary and these terrible sacrifices by the Hungarian people will have a positive effect, that a little light will reach the eyes of the comrades in the Soviet Union." "It is our tragedy," Tito added, "the tragedy of all of us together, that a terrible blow has been dealt socialism. It has been compromised."

A SYSTEM AT FAULT: Tito hoped both the Soviet Union and many Western Communist Parties would learn a lesson from these events. For he felt that the criticism of the "cult of personality" at the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP did not tackle "the question of a system that made the creation of the cult of personality possible." He believed that, among the Soviet leadership, those who "stand for stronger and more rapid development in the direction of democratization [and] creation of new relations among socialist states" would win out over "those people who stood and are still standing on Stalinist positions."

The Yugoslav leader believed that the "internal process of development in a progressive direction" in the U.S.S.R. and the E. European countries was being "hindered" by the Western powers' "propaganda and ceaseless repetition of the need for the 'liberation' of these counties." He found among the Soviet leaders the belief that, in the face of extensive Western propaganda among Moscow's neighbors through "radio broadcasts, the dispatch of materials by balloons, and so forth, unpleasant consequences could result if they left these countries completely and gave them, say, a status as that enjoyed by Yugoslavia."

A WHIRLWIND REAPED: In Tito's opinion, the Soviet leaders were wrong. And "the origin of all later mistakes [lay] in insufficient confidence in the Socialist forces of these people."

"Certain leaders" in other E. European countries, Tito observed, were saying that "this will not happen in their countries, that they have a strong organization, a strong army, a strong police . . . and that they will firmly control the entire thing." He warned: "Gero said the same thing, and Rakosi, too. . . . They sowed the wind and they reaped the whirlwind."

Tito's attitude on the Hungarian situation was strongly criticized by former Yugoslav vice president Milovan Djilas and sharply attacked by Moscow's **Pravda.** In an article in the American anti-Communist weekly **New Leader** (11/19) Djilas had said that the Hungarian conflict had raised the issue of "the replacement of the Communist system itself by a new social system." On Nov. 19 Djilas was arrested on charges of conducting propaganda hostile to the government.

CULT OR SYSTEM? Pravda accused Tito of inflicting "damage on the Communist movement" by dividing people into "Stalinists" and "anti-Stalinists" and of displaying "tendencies to interfere in the affairs of other Communist parties." It denied that the Stalin cult grew out of the "Soviet system itself," and charged the Yugoslav leader with propagating the idea that "Yugoslavia's path to socialism is the only true [path] for Socialist development in almost all countries."

While events in Hungary remained obscure, it seemed, as Isaac Deutscher, biographer of Stalin and Trotsky, pointed out (**The Reporter, 11/15**), the Hungarian CP was paying "the heaviest penalty for its rigid addiction to Stalinist orthodoxy."

POLISH-SOVIET ACCORD: Poland, however, seemed to have established a stable and popular government, and a harmonious relationship with the U.S.S.R. on the basis of full equality. Polish leaders last week returned home from Moscow with an agreement providing:

- "Complete equality" between Poland and the U.S.S.R., "respect for territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty and non-interference in each others' internal affairs."
- Cancellations of Polish debts resulting from reparations payments to Moscow, and new Soviet credits to Warsaw in the form of goods and loans.
- Sweeping revision of the status of Soviet forces inside Poland, with a Polish veto over Soviet movements through Poland and Polish jurisdiction over Soviet personnel.
- Repatriation of Poles stranded in Soviet territory and release and return of Polish prisoners to their homeland.
- Confirmation of the current Polish-Soviet military alliance as a guarantee of Poland's territorial integrity and of her border with Germany.

INDIA PUSHES FIGHT IN UN

Seat for China barred again

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

UN RECOGNITION of China, as expected, precipitated a heated discussion both in the Steering Committee and the General Assembly last week.

This year the issue was not raised on the basis of questioning the credentials of Chiang Kai-shek's representative. It was brought up by India on Nov. 14 in the 13-member Steering Committee (the Assembly president, chairmen of the seven special committees and the five permanent Security Council members) as an agenda item for the General Assembly to discuss Peking's right to China's UN seat. After a bitter debate, the committee approved by an 8-5 vote, with one abstention, a U.S. resolution to postpone until next year any discussion about recognition of China.

India, however, reopened the issue Nov. 16 before the 79-member General Assembly. Delegate Krishna Menon urged the Assembly at least to place Peking's claim on the agenda, contending it was unrealistic to "close one's eyes" to China's existence as a major Asian power commanding the loyalty of a fifth of mankind.

WHAT'S AT STAKE: Menon also pointed out the political and economic importance of China to the UN. He said the unstable Far Eastern situation "can erupt any day into a condition which would be most catastrophic and regrettable." "The solution," he said, "depends upon the U. S. talking face to face with the Chinese government and vice versa." Noting that the Western nations had a big stake in developing friendly trade relations with Peking. Menon said he had seen large quantities of imported Western goods in China despite the economic boycott imposed after the Korean war.

The Assembly defeated the Indian resolution by 45 to 25, with nine abstentions; it approved the U. S. resolution barring discussion of China's seat this year by 47 to 24, with eight abstentions.

Within 24 hours India introduced a resolution in the Assembly declaring the rejection of India's earlier proposal invalid, since the proposal had been defeated by less than the two-thirds majority required by the Charter.

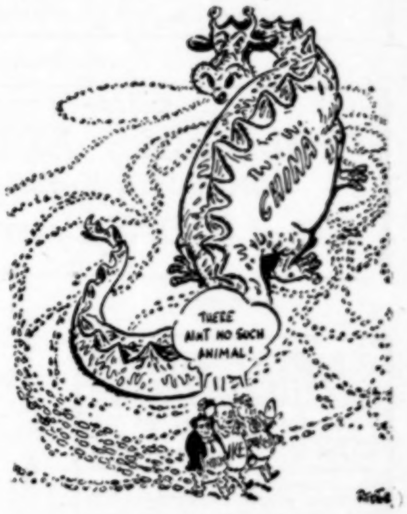
"GO SEE A DOCTOR": In the course of the debate Menon made a scathing reply to an attack by U. S. delegation member Sen. William F. Knowland (R-Calif.). Knowland, sometimes referred to as the senator from Formosa, said he was "shocked that India and its delegation leader apparently has become the floor leader for the Soviet drive to bring Communist China into the UN."

Accusing Knowland of "a disservice to the cause of international friendship" by questioning the integrity of a member of another delegation, Menon said: "Being shocked is a state of mind, and the thing to do is go see a doctor."

Last week Ernest A. Gross, a former U. S. Asst. Secy. of State, urged Washington to make a realistic reappraisal of its China policy. Gross said:

"There is a widespread feeling that to negotiate with Red China would be improper, to recognize it would be immoral and to seat it in the UN would be disastrous. This seems to me an illusion which fact and logic cannot support."

K. G.


CHINA
THERE AIN'T NO SUCH ANIMAL!

Globe and Mail, Toronto
Maybe it'll go away

Radiation forum Nov. 30 at L. A. Unitarian church

SIGNIFICANCE TO THE WORLD of the danger of radiation will be the subject of a new Unitarian Public Forum Friday. Nov. 30, at 8 p.m., in the Los Angeles Unitarian Church Auditorium, 2936 W. 8th St.

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Coming Forum events include one on Indian Affairs, with American Indian cultural and sociological leaders,

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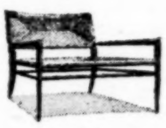

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DALTON TRUMBO AT GUARDIAN ANNIVERSARY

The new American Left

IT IS MY BELIEF that socialism offers the most humane and intelligent solution to the problems which presently afflict the world. It is my belief that the American people will ultimately establish socialism in these United States of America. And I feel, as a member of the human race, that the obligation has been placed upon me to live my life in such a way as to hasten the day when peoples everywhere will be able to achieve socialism.

I am saddened that the first socialist nation in history permitted its government—temporarily, as I believe—to degenerate into a dictatorship. I know of nothing I could have done to prevent what has happened there; nor do I know of anything I presently can do to hasten the Soviet government's return to those standards which I, and perhaps you, have set up for it. I reject the idea that since socialism as it was practiced in the Soviet Union led to dictatorship, socialism everywhere must produce the same results. It makes no more sense to me than to assert that because capitalism in Germany produced fascism, capitalism everywhere must develop similarly.

DALTON TRUMBO

For 20 years the American Left has, in a greater or lesser degree, been trapped in the intellectual orbit of the Soviet Union. The American Left has not been alone in such entrapment. The mere existence of the Soviet Union has been the most compelling fact of modern history. It has affected the Republican Party and the Democratic Party and the Americans for Democratic Action and the Government of the United States itself quite as strongly as it affected the American Labor Party, the Liberal Party, the American Workers Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the Communist Party. Since the Soviet Union could not be ignored, men and women everywhere have been compelled to act and react to the new situation with which it confronted the world.

WE NOW SEE A VAST SHIFTING of forces, both East and West; a shattering of alliances both East and West; a stupendous turmoil which cannot fail to bring forth the most extraordinary changes throughout the world. It is not, therefore, surprising that changes will also occur in that amorphous area inhabited by the rather wide American Left. I do not propose to tell you precisely what those changes will encompass, because such information is of considerable cash value, and I am saving it for a more profitable market. But I have the very strong conviction that the American Left exists, that it will continue to exist, and that it will grow stronger and more powerful as it discovers the real needs of the American people and learns from the American people how they wish to go about the job of improving affairs.

I greatly doubt that any presently existing political organization of the Left can or should assume a position of leadership over the general groupings of the Left. And I also suspect that many leading individuals will find themselves no longer leaders but followers. The fearsome struggles of the past decade have produced human casualties; men and women so gravely injured that they are incapacitated for any but minor action in the future. A term in prison may, under certain circumstances, serve as a character recommendation, but it cannot longer be accepted as certification of political infallibility.

In the new Left that must come into being if our nation is to achieve a health it does not presently possess, there must be much humility and much forgiveness. The swamplands of emotion, invective and empty rhetoric must be abandoned for higher ground more hospitable to the practice of logic, of restraint, of the reasoning intellect. If socialism is the highest form of society conceivable to us today, those who aspire to it have the obligation to demonstrate in their lives and actions and words the highest form of intellectual sobriety.

WHEN I SAY there must be forgiveness, I mean specifically that we assert as a rule of conduct the fact that men do change. While the tragedies of the past must always be remembered if they are to be avoided in the future, a great many past actions must be forgiven and forgotten by all contending Leftward groups. Speech uttered 20 years ago or even ten, may not logically serve today as proof of present fault.

In the Macon, Ga., **Daily Telegraph** there appeared on April 30 of 1925 the following words:

"It is undoubtedly true that in the past many thousands of Japanese have legally or otherwise got into the United States, settled here and raised children who became American citizens. Californians have properly objected on the sound basic ground that Japanese immigrants are not capable of assimilation into the American population . . . Anyone who has traveled in the Far East knows that the mingling of Asiatic blood with European or American blood produces, in nine cases out of ten, the most unfortunate results . . . These Eurasians are, as a common thing, looked down on and despised not only by both the European and the American who resides there, but by the pure Asiatic who lives there . . . In this question, then, of Japanese exclusion from the United States, it is only necessary to advance the true reason—the undesirablility of mixing the blood of the two peoples."

CLEARLY THESE ARE THE WORDS of a racist, of a man sunk in ignorance, of a man approaching the quagmire of fascism. The author of that signed column was Franklin Delano Roosevelt, at that time only seven years removed from the Presidency of the United States. Let us forgive him those words, and judge him rather by the different man he became in that hour when he led the great coalition which destroyed fascism. Let us similarly forgive all ideological contestants of the Left, and let them forgive us also. For unless this occurs—unless we judge men by what they presently do rather than by the evil or error they once committed—the American Left will not for years be able to reassemble its forces.

I hear a good deal about a program for the American Left, and what should be in it, and what should not be there. Many of the plans I have heard contain excellent features and desirable objectives. But it would appear to me that the issue upon which the American Left can be rallied, if it is to rally at all, is an issue that has disgraced our nation since its first bright morning of revolutionary existence. I refer, of course, to the struggle which presently is being waged by the Negro people to secure those rights which the Constitution has guaranteed them.

It would seem to me that the whole American Left must cease sympathizing with this struggle, and find some means of actively participating in it. There can be no genuine American Left until there is a free Negro community in the United States. Nor shall we ever be a clean nation until this objective is secured. But if the American Left discovers a way of engaging itself in the fight for Negro liberation—a struggle which it must enter not alone for moral reasons but as a necessary condition for its own survival—if the way is found, it must not be taken in the expectation that the Negro people themselves will necessarily merge with the Left. They will merge with whom they please. The Left will gain at least one great victory for itself; it will have become an American Left rather than the essentially white Left it is today.

I BELIEVE THAT THE FIGHT for Negro freedom is the great historical task of our time. I believe that the salvation of America reposes today in the hands of the Negro people. Seventeen million living persons have been condemned by us to die eight years earlier than we, our white selves, shall die. Based on present life expectation, those hundred and thirty-six million years of lost life represent the outright murder of two millions of our fellow Americans—murder that occurs day in and night out, murder done openly before our unbelieving eyes, murder which we righteously condemn, but which does not send us shouting into the fight. If this slaughter cannot unite us and arouse us to political action as yet undreamed of, than the Left, as we presently conceive it, has failed, and deserves to be supplanted and will be supplanted. But that, of course, does not mean that there will be no Left; it only means there will be a stronger and better one to replace the imperfect thing we fashioned and failed with.

I should, in conclusion, like to say that it appears to me that we who have gathered here tonight are radicals; that a radical is one who seeks to go to the root of affairs; that our radical hearts in these recent years have not been broken—they have only been a little scarred; that we still may move together and ahead, our confidence somewhat restored by recent distinguished medical testimony that a scarred heart is the surest guarantee of longevity.

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CALENDAR

Chicago

DO YOUR CHRISTMAS SHOPPING AT CIVIL LIBERTIES BAZAAR, Sat, Dec. 1, noon to midnight; Sun., Dec. 2, 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. at Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted St. Eat dinner at Restaurant of All Nations—everything from a snack to a full meal—bar, entertainment. Sponsored by Chicago Joint Defense Committee, 189 W. Madison, Rm 402 (DE 2-7142).

Save December 16th
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2-6 p. m. Music Rm., Fine Arts Bldg., 410 S. Michigan. Chgo Comm. for Smith Act Families.

TABITHA PETRAN reports on her trip to USSR for the Guardian, 32 W. Randolph, Hall C-1. Fri., Nov. 30, 8:15 p.m. Adm. 90c. Tickets from Chi. Coun. Am.-Sov. Friendship, 189 Madison, Suite 403. AN 3-1877.

Los Angeles

THE TRUTH ABOUT RADIATION DAMAGE and its Effects on Human Beings, Born and Unborn. A new **UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM**, Nov. 30, 8 p. m. at First Unitarian Church, 2936 W 8th St., nr. Vermont Ave. **DR. LINUS PAULING**, Noble Prize Winner and Professor of Chemistry at Cal. Tech., Moderator. Speakers: **Dr. Franklin Stahl**, biologist at Cal. Tech., and **Dr. James Warf**, Chemist at Univ. of So. California. Adm.: 75c.

Seattle

SAT., DEC. 1st, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith on the Walter-McCarran Law, Washington Hall, 153-14th Ave., Dinner 6 p.m. Meeting 8 p.m. Auspices: WCPFB.

Philadelphia

"Is the Tide Turning for Freedom?" **DR. CORLISS LAMONT**, speaker, Fri., Dec. 7, 8:30 p.m., Benjamin Franklin Hotel. Adm: $1.50. Benefit Legal Fund of Dismissed Teachers.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"CHAPAYEV,"** Nov. 24. The epic exploits of a partisan leader in the civil war, done with gusto and warmth by the Brothers Vassiliev. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **'DAYBREAK'** (France)

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Tues. Nov. 27—Round Table: **THE COMMUNIST THEORETICAL "NEW LOOK" AT THE NEGRO QUESTION.** Is Marxism Necessary for the Negro People's Movement? Panelists: James Allen, Abner Berry, James Jackson. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av., 8:15 p.m. Adm: $1.

Come to the **PRE-CHRISTMAS BAZAAR** DEC. 7, 8, 9 at the Hungarian House, 2141 Southern Blvd., Bronx, N.Y. (bet. W 181 & 182 Sts.) Beautiful imported articles, bargain prices; home-made cakes. Lots of fun. Ausp: Hungarian Women's Club.

DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS in lecture on Negro Music. Sun., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. at Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus, 189 Second Av. Entertainment: folk dancing with outstanding caller. Cont. 75c.

MEET THE AUTHORS of the **"Jewish Life" Anthology**, 1946-1956, at a "Coming Out Party" to greet the publication of this volume celebrating 10 years of Jewish Life. Sat., Dec. 1, 8:30 p.m. Art of Today Gallery, Gt. Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57 St. Contrib. $1.

"MILITANT" LABOR FORUM, 116 University Pl., Fri., Nov. 30, 8 p.m. Anniversary of the Montgomery Freedom Fight—An analysis of the Historical Significance of the Protest Movement. Speaker: Fred Halsted, "Militant" eye-witness reporter from the protest movement's first days. A special report from Tallahasee.

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Books and Publications

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A WARNING TO BOTH PARTIES

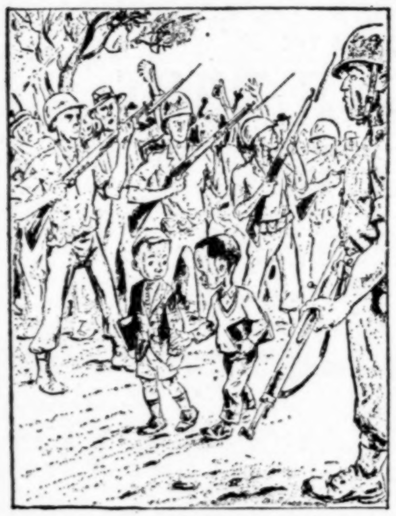
What the shift in the Negro vote means

By Eugene Gordon

THE GUARDIAN said on Sept. 24 that the only trend then visible among Negroes as a voting bloc was their tendency to agree that, for them, the main Presidential election issue was civil rights. The strong shift of Negro voters to President Eisenhower—even if they did not vote as a bloc—demonstrated the validity of the pre-election finding.

The Eisenhower-supporting Baltimore **Afro-American** said that while Negroes voted overwhemingly for the President, "they exercised fine discernment in returning to Congress those men, regardless of party," who had best served the Negro peoples' interests.

Afro writer Gordon DeLeighbor said the shift was "certain to bring tremendous pressure on the 85th Congress to enact civil rights legislation," despite the fact that James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) continues as chairman of the strategic Senate Judiciary Committee. Eastland boasted that in the 84th Congress he blocked laws beneficial to minorities. However, said the **Afro** writer, "Eastland can be bypassed if at least three Republican members of his committee decide to vote with Northern Democrats." The three are Everett Dirksen (Ill.), William E. Jenner (Ind.) and John M. Butler (Md).



Harrington in Pittsburgh Courier

"Goodness gracious, Gaither. You reckon, these fools expect us to run through this hassle every day an' do our HOMEWORK, too?"

A GRAVE BEING DUG? Right after the election Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) held a press conference which was interpreted as a hint that Northern Democrats would seek a working agreement with certain Republicans for legislative action. Humphrey blamed his party's "inaction" for the Negro shift to Eisenhower in such Democratic strongholds as Kentucky, Louisiana and Tennessee, and in such urban centers as Baltimore, Birmingham, Chattanooga, Louisville, Memphis, Mobile, Montgomery and New Orleans—to say nothing of countless Northern industrial centers. By doing nothing for civil rights, he warned, his party was "digging its own grave."

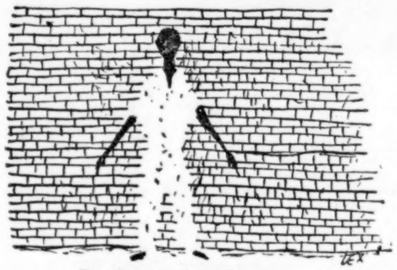
Negro Rep. William L. Dawson (Ill.), who is a Democratic Natl. Committee vice chairman, denied that his party's inaction had discouraged Negro voters. He said Negroes, "like other Americans," were pressured into voting for Eisenhower by "economic issues and the fear of war." But NAACP Washington bureau chief Clarence Mitchell, while acknowledging such factors, declared with Humphrey and the Negro press that hatred of Eastlandism was the dominant issue. NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins also endorsed this view.

A "SPIRITUAL BEATING": The Norfolk (Va.) **Journal and Guide** was impressed by the fact that "for the first time since Reconstruction" the Republicans carried Alabama's "Montgomery City and County," the Confederacy's "cradle," where 50,000 Negroes have walked 11 months against jimcrow buses. It gave this explanation of the vote shift:

"It was not directed to or against Mr. Stevenson personally. While there was a strong feeling among Negro voters that President Eisenhower deserved reelection on his record, they had, until recently, a feeling of loyalty—and even of obligation—to the Democratic party, with which 75% of them had been affiliated for 25 years. But during the past two years something happened . . .Negroes in the South have taken a spiritual beating not exceeded in cruelty by anything that has happened to human relations in the history of America. This violence to the spirits and minds of Negroes was administered by Southern Democratic party leaders."

NEGROES ELECTED: Because they figured that Negro candidates, Republican or Democrat, could be trusted in a showdown fight for civil rights, Negroes voted for Negro candidates. Negro members of Congress—Dawson, Charles C. Diggs Jr. (Mich.) and Adam Clayton Powell (N.Y.), all Democrats—were returned. Negroes were also elected to the legislatures and to municipal offices in 12 states.

Approximately 100 Negroes ran for various offices across the U.S.; 50 were elected. Rev. J. Carl Mitchell was elected to the City Council of Huntington, W. Va., first Negro official in that city's history. Florida Negroes helped reelect Democratic State Rep. John B. Orr of Dade County, a white lawmaker who, during the campaign, announced that he was a member of the NAACP. Forty Negro newspapers backed Mr. Eisenhower.



De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

CLINTON, TENNESSEE

THE PROSPECT: What of the 85th Congress? The NAACP's Clarence Mitchell predicted "a real effort to end filibusters" and a fight by the Federal government "to protect the right to vote." But he saw also "an attempt to use Northern money to support segregation in the South" and "to use Congress as a forum to spread theories of white supremacy." N. Y. City Councilman Earl Brown said that "in so far as civil rights legislation is concerned, there won't be any, [for both] the White House and Congress are against it."

BOTH PARTIES WARNED: The comment of the Negro press was frank. Said the Chicago **Defender** (pro-Stevenson): "The underlying reason for most of what has now become a sizeable shift in the Negro vote can be traced not to confidence in the Republican party, but as protest over the failure of the Democratic leadership to squarely fight for [Negro] rights."

- The **Pittsburgh** Courier: "This defection should be a warning to Democrats and Republicans alike that no longer does anybody own the Negro vote; that the Negro of the mid-Fifties is thinking independently and for himself."
- **Afro:** "It has now become an established fact that either party which indifferently takes our support for granted does so at its own peril, and certain defeat will be its reward."
- N. Y. **Amsterdam News** (columnist Earl Brown): "If [the Democratic Party] continues its course of expediency, it will soon become the minority party, not only nationally but also in many Northern cities and states. Civil rights is not a Negro question. It's an American question. The same as the hydrogen bomb and the size of the armed forces."

> MAN IS HERE for the sake of other men—above all, for those upon whose smile and well-being our own happiness depends, and also for the countless unknown souls with whose fate we are connected by a bond of sympathy. Many times a day I realize how much my own outer and inner life is built upon the labors of my fellow-men, both living and dead, and how earnestly I must exert myself in order to give in return as much as I have received. My peace of mind is often troubled by the depressing sense that I have borrowed too heavily from the work of other men.
>
> —ALBERT EINSTEIN

REPRESSIVE LAWS

Walter pursues probe to stifle fight for repeal

THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN Activities Committee headed by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) has met with vehement opposition and a generally unfriendly press thus far in its series of hearings begun in Washington Nov. 12. The hearings were aimed at equating opposition to repressive laws with communism. Of 30 witnesses summoned Nov. 12-13-14, mostly in connection with the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act (of which Rep. Walter was co-sponsor) none proved "friendly," most refused to answer questions under the Fifth and other amendments and many lambasted the Committee with charges of racism and attempting to suppress legitimate political action.

At the end of the Washington hearings and on the eve of a quick cross-country investigation to include Youngstown, Chicago, Seattle and Los Angeles, the Committee conceded its first three days had been "disappointing" but announced 100 more witnesses would be called. Subpenas indicated the Committee's interest in opposition to the Smith Act, McCarran Act, the Brownell bills and the McCarran-Walter Act, but the last was evidently its chief interest. The New York **Times** surmised that Walter was "collecting data for a counter-attack in advance of the prospective legislative battle" to revise the Immigration Act, opposed by both Eisenhower and Stevenson during the campaign as well as by all labor, churches, national groups and many leading citizens.

ONE NEW FACE: The only "new face" among government witnesses arrayed against the intended victims was Archibald Bullock Roosevelt, aging banker-son of the late President Theodore Roosevelt. Archy, representing a "Consolidated Alliance of Patriotic Organizations of America," urged tightening rather than liberalizing the McCarran-Walter Law and identified all opposition to it with international communism.

Abner Green, exec. secy. of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, whose adherents made up most of the witness list, charged Rep. Walter with seeking "to inhibit public expression on legislation" and "using the inquisitorial powers of Congress in an effort to stifle merited criticism of the reactionary, racist and undemocratic Act of which he is co-sponsor."

The committee plans to visit Youngstown Nov. 28, Chicago Dec. 3-4, Seattle Dec. 13-14 and probably Los Angeles before resuming hearings in Washington.

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Guardian meeting and annual Market

TABITHA PETRAN's appearance for the GUARDIAN in San Francisco coincides with a traditional event: the 14th Annual Christmas Market. The GUARDIAN meeting starts at 8 p.m. Friday, Dec. 14, in the main auditorium of California Hall, Polk and Turk Sts., while the Market starts two hours earlier with a dinner in the hall just downstairs.

Hundreds of persons are planning to combine the two events by dining and shopping for gift bargains downstairs, then coming up to hear Miss Petran, GUARDIAN editor James Aronson, Vincent Hallinan and Albert E. Kahn.

The Market will continue throughout Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 15 and 16. Rare imports and beautiful gifts of California manufacture will be offered at prices far below those charged by local stores.

Attention, Detroiters!

Tabitha Petran

will report on her trip to the Middle East and Eastern Europe

TUESDAY, DEC. 4

See next issue for details